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ABSTRACT

This evaluation examines the degree to which human factors support, relate to, or impede the successful achievements of Polaroid's Inner City mission to provide on-the-job training for the career development of disadvantaged workers. The program is cited as a model for industry-based career education. Background information is provided on the social/historical context within which Inner City operates, the psychological and practical needs of the disadvantaged workers served, and options, objectives and the present organization of Inner City. The evaluation represents both observations of the evaluators and data yielded from a questionnaire administered to the program participants. The observations include the way the mission is approached from a human factors point of view relative to skill training, counseling, and placement. Also discussed are communication systems (formal and informal) among staff and trainee populations, trainee backgrounds, their perceptions of training, counseling, and placement, and their recommendations and gains. In addition, the report proposes recommendations for constructive change in the present model. Appendices include a trainee review form, a human resources report, and a copy of the questionnaire distributed to participants. A list of references is included. (EB)

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JAN 16 1979

INNER CITY

HUMAN FACTORS EVALUATION

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND	2
Historical Perspective	2
Needs of Disadvantaged Workers	2
Polaroid in Context	3
Inner City Mission	4
Structure and Function	5
Summary	7
EVALUATION	8
Methodology	8
Observational Findings	9
Training	9
Production Vocational	9
Products	9
Skills	10
Clerical Vocational	15
Basic Educational	16
Transferability	19
Evaluation	20
Counseling	22
Placement	22
Communications	26
Empirical Findings	31
Trainee Backgrounds	31

Age 32
Family Status 32
Support Systems 33
Last Job Experience and Education 34
Entry Behaviors 35
Summary 36
Production Vocational Training 37
Work Environment 37
Supervisors' Behaviors 38
Correlational Analysis 40
Summary 41
Basic Educational Training 41
Participation Rates 41
Students as Learners 42
Teachers 44
Correlational Analysis 45
Summary 46
Counseling 46
Placement 47
Anticipated Salaries 47
Work Locations 48
Work Environments 49
Summary 50
Trainee Gains and Recommendations 50

SUMMARY 52

RECOMMENDATIONS 54

APPENDICES

Trainee Review Form 56

Human Resources Report 59

Questionnaire 60

REFERENCES 65

List of Tables

Table	Title	Page
1	Ages of Trainees by Sex	32
2	Marital Status by Sex in Percents	32
3	Presence of Children by Sex in Percents	32
4	Living Arrangements by Sex in Percents	33
5	Source of Support During Application to Inner City by Sex in Percents	34
6	Months on Last Job Prior to Inner City by Sex in Percents	34
7	Years of Education by Sex in Percents	35
8	Months of Knowledge of Inner City Prior to Application by Sex in Percents	36
9	Months from Application to Acceptance by Sex in Percents	36
10	Requirements of Inner City Most Difficult to Meet by Sex in Percents	37
11	Task Satisfaction by Sex in Percents	37
12	Supervisory Behavior Perceived by Sex in Percents	38
13	Perceived Supervisor Strictness by Sex in Percents	38
14	Ways in Which Supervisors Have Been Helpful	39
15	Personal Relationship to Supervisors by Sex in Percents	39
16	Nature of Supervisory Feedback by Sex in Percents	40
17	Correlation of Attitudes Toward Supervisors and Selected Background Factors	40
18	Participation in Basic Education by Sex in Percents	42
19	Subject Most Help Needed in by Sex in Percents	42
20	Subject Most Growth Felt in by Sex in Percents	42
21	Estimated Months Before Ready for GED by Sex in Percents	43
22	Learning Rate Compared to Classmates by Sex in Percents	43
23	Ability to Understand Classes and Freedom to Ask Teachers Questions by Sex in Percents	44

Table	Title	Page
24	Number of Ways in Which Teachers Have Been Helpful and Most Helpful	45
25	Correlations of Attitudes Toward Teachers and Selected Background Factors	46
26	Frequencies of Ways in Which a Counselor Could Help	47
27	Preferred Counselor Contacts by Sex in Percents	47
28	Anticipated Entry Salaries by Sex in Percents	48
29	Desirability of Work Locations by Preferences and Acceptances	48
30	Preferred Work Environment Relative to People by Sex in Percents	49
31	Amount of Preferred Change in Tasks by Sex in Percents	49
32	Trainee Reported Gains From Program	50
33	Trainee Recommended Program Changes	51

INTRODUCTION

The report consists of a background statement, evaluation and recommendations. The background begins with a descriptive statement about the social/historical context within which Inner City operates. The needs of the disadvantaged worker will then be reviewed. Finally Inner City will be described in terms of its options, chosen mission and present organization.

The background section will then be followed by an evaluation of the human factors utilized in meeting the programs mission. The evaluation is in two parts, representing observations of the evaluator and the data yielded from a questionnaire administered to the program participants. The observations include the way in which the mission is approached, again from a human factors point of view relative to skill training, counseling and placement. Finally the observations will discuss communications systems both formal and informal among staff and trainee populations.

The summative portion of the evaluation will report trainee backgrounds, their perceptions of training, counseling as well as placement. Their recommendations and gains will also be examined. Lastly the report will make some recommendations for constructive change in the present model.

BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Inner City can be viewed as growing out of adult education. While adult education has often taken place in the public sector as extension programs of high schools and colleges, the whole movement was given wider attention in the United States in the 1960s when a period of unparaleled prosperity gave rise to the possibility of meeting a dream shared by political liberals and conservatives alike - providing a meaningful job for every American citizen.

NEEDS OF DISADVANTAGED WORKERS

It soon became clear that enunciating the principle of equality of employment opportunity was insufficient. Racial minorities too often were without the skills that employers deemed necessary for productivity. Furthermore, centuries of economic, educational and civic neglect had presented society with some long overdue bills. Research done in the 1950s and 1960s reveals the following outcomes of centuries of oppression:

- That the disadvantaged were most likely to have dropped out before graduating from high school. Additionally associations (though not causations) had been found between criminal behavior, drug dependency and chronic unemployment (Feldman, 1973; Clark, 1970).
- That minorities not only had the highest unemployment rate in every category of worker but were last hired and first fired as well as least represented among higher categories of workers.

In fact the lack of earning capacity for equivalent amounts of schooling clearly indicated the presence of employment discrimination (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973; U.S. Department of Labor, 1975; Ross and Hill, 1967).

- That several psychological consequences were observable in disadvantaged populations, among which were peer attitudes toward work, an inability to see consequences of present work efforts and future outcomes, an experience of culture shock in relating to predominantly white work settings and finally higher worker attrition rates (Ginzberg & Solow, 1974; Mason, 1974).

These findings can be analyzed to portray several needs of disadvantaged workers. The first is the need for skill building as expressed in the opportunity to learn marketable trades and to work at a level of literacy and numeracy necessary for functional performance in most jobs which are becoming increasingly more technical in nature. There next needs to be psychological preparation in the form of counseling not only to reorganize the different roles persons must play in order to satisfactorily meet requirements of the work role, but to provide ways in which the relationship between effort and outcome may be more meaningfully perceived and facilitated. Finally there is a need for entrance or placement in a job which offers financial security, stability and a future around which plans can be made.

POLAROID IN CONTEXT

With such needs clarified the government intervened in the marketplace to stimulate the development of the disadvantaged worker. Manpower Development Programs, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corpsare but

a few such programs. Some were effective, others not (Levitan et. al. 1974). The private sector was most directly involved with Subsidized On-The-Job Training (Ginzberg & Solow 1974). While this training succeeded most often where others failed in the area of meaningful placement, it was not without problems. Some of the jobs trained for were without transferable skills. Further, general development was not an industrial priority, all too frequently. Finally and most regrettably, when federal subsidization ceased, so also did industrial commitments (Ginzberg & Solow, 1974).

During the height of this public and private commitment, Polaroid conceived of Inner City as a means to express its personal commitment to equity in employment opportunity. Polaroid received no direct government subsidy for Inner City but instead set it up as a wholly owned subsidiary whose goal it would be to train disadvantaged workers for employment at Polaroid. The program was to contribute to its own support by the production of items jobbed out to Polaroid subsidiaries but was mainly to be subsidized by the tax deductible contributions from the parent corporation.

INNER CITY MISSION

At the time of its inception, Inner City had two options: one to provide narrow-based skill training for Polaroid employment and second to provide a broader training which would go beyond skill training and address issues of general development which in the career context spoke to planfulness, self-actualization ans self-direction. While the former option was chosen, the fact that this was done in 1968 and again, without public subsidy, spoke to a continuing commitment that lasted for a decade.

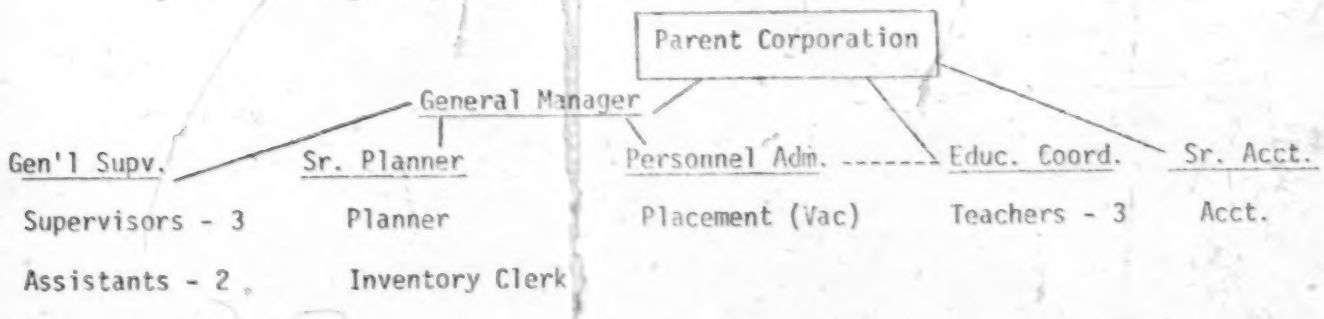
Within the context of the present training option then, it becomes possible to speak of the mission of Inner City. While this evaluator has not been successful in finding a formal statement of mission for the program, the program's pamphlet circulated to prospective trainees does have a statement in answer to the rhetorical question, "What happens once you are in the program?" The mission appears to be the following:

- To provide training in production skills and basic literacy.
- To make counseling available to participants.
- To place successful graduates.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

In order to meet that mission Inner City has a staff which is graphically depicted in Figure I.

Figure I. Organizational Table of Inner City Staffing



The staffing ratio appears to be about one for each five trainees at any given time allowing for no staff vacancies and an average trainee population of 75. This ratio decreases as each year a number of cycles of trainees pass through the program. Given the type of supervision required on moderately complex and potentially dangerous machinery, and the type of planning and monitoring of work flow required in a production setting this ratio appears satisfactory to very economical.

The trainee population at Inner City is one that changes but also has some regularity. The present administrator has moved the program from an open-entry to a cyclical model. Thus a group of trainees are admitted into Phase I, a month-long orientation, where they meet staff and get a sense of the mission of Inner City as well as get introduced to the production atmosphere. This production atmosphere speaks to a need for planning and structure as modeled by the staff. Time is a precious resource and dealt with as such. Time cards are introduced and variances from time commitments are confronted. The training attitude that is reminiscent of school and lack of accountability is discouraged and the vigor and discipline of industrial work is emphasized.

Upon completion of orientation trainees go on to Phase II and then to Phase III or placement. The latter phases are strictly training and allow for a buildup of skill and establishment of a track record of successful demonstration of work discipline. Phase III is used as additional training for those not deemed ready for placement. Trainees are periodically evaluated during their six months in program and given raises for outstanding performances as well as monthly bonus days for perfect attendance and punctuality. Thus aside from negative sanctions for unsuccessful performance there are positive rewards for outstanding performance.

The program has a placement record which is enviable and which will be elaborated upon in the evaluation section below. At this point it is simply necessary to understand that one of the ways in which the productivity of this program is maintained is a strict accounting of the number of trainees placed.

SUMMARY

By way of summary it can be stated that Inner City is Polaroid's on-the-job training model for career development of disadvantaged workers. This model is also an example of what Hoyt refers to as the industry-based career education model (Hoyt et.al., 1972). The program is narrow-focused job preparation with a strong staff/trainee ratio and with the emphasis on successful placement that typifies this model of manpower training. The quality of that training is the subject of this evaluation.

EVALUATION

This evaluation proposes to examine the degree to which human factors support, relate to or impede the successful achievements of the program's mission. Thus, human factors within the program mission as previously defined include:

A. Training

B. Counseling

C. Placement

In addition to the program mission, communication as a separate but related issue will be discussed. The format for the evaluation is dual. Soft data in the form of observations and interviews form the substance of the first section of the evaluation. Hard data in the form of student replies to a questionnaire form the second section of the evaluation. A short description of methods follows.

METHODOLOGY

The evaluator submitted a proposal to Inner City staff and met with Polaroid sponsoring officials as well. It was agreed that the format proposed would be acceptable for a human factors study. Between February and April 1977 the evaluator appeared at Inner City and did the following tasks:

A. Interviewed President and the Chairman of the Board, as well as General Manager.

B. Interviewed staff members individually.

C. Observed classrooms.

D. Interviewed individual trainees and provided counseling on a few occasions at staff request.

E. Observed staff meetings.

F. Observed Appeals Board meetings.

G. Designed, administered and analyzed questionnaire.

H. Examined instruments currently used by Inner City upon request.

I. Assessed need for and compiled a resource book for use by the program.

OBSERVATIONAL FINDINGS

As previously mentioned nonempirical data are included in this systematic examination of training, counseling and placement as aspects of the program's mission. Training is dealt with first.

Training

The training given at Inner City can be characterized as being of two types: vocational and basic educational. The vocational training can be further divided into production and clerical skills training, though it is important to note that the latter was not the main thrust of the program or even advertised as being available to students in the brochure.

Production Vocational Training. This training at Inner City represents the heart of the program. It is around this base that training is promised and most often delivered, and around this base that the program is able to meet part of its own cost. Thus products selected as well as formal and informal skills taught become crucial to this evaluation - again from a human factors perspective.

Products presently worked on at Inner City are frog's tongues, two flash gun assemblies and printed ID cards. Discussion with the Senior Planner revealed that primary concern in product selection had to do with the simplicity of the tasks involved and the ability of the program to

produce sufficient numbers in a reasonable enough time to yield a net profit. In short this is a production decision. While the decision is a production one there is input from a wide variety of sources including managerial and production staff input. There are occasional concerns regarding schedule demands that may require wholesale movements of all students to one product in order to meet a critical demand or the imposition of mandatory overtime. Such occurences are certainly frequent enough in reality production experiences but here it does serve as a focal point for a problem embedded in the program design.

The problem simply is whether Inner City is a job or a training program. If a job, then clearly the training mission has secondary importance. It a training program, then two considerations necessary in product selection should be interest level and teachability. In short a simple task may not provide enough satisfaction for a worker to put sustained time on and a task with low teachability provides little or no challenge to the worker. Given the level of job satisfaction in industry reported in Work In America (Special Task Force, 1974) these are not unimportant concerns. Perhaps trainee input into the process of product selection might be desirable. For a little more time the process might have better satisfaction outcomes.

Skills observed being taught of the formal type were formal because trainees spent long periods of time consciously performing them (a month or more) and were given instruction in how to perform the necessary tasks. They were the following:

A. Assembling - minute to gross, individual and team.

B. Welding - sonic, electronic

C. Silk screen machine operations

D. Switchboard and reception operations

E. Calibrating

F. Inspection

G. Packaging

Assembling was by far the most frequent task performed and represented the basic task in the program. While least demanding, it also had little intrinsic interest to most students interviewed. Few saw the tasks as related to any future reward that could accrue to them other than to get a job at the end of a painfully dull experience. Yet it was often on the basis of how well these basic assembly tasks were performed that students were promoted to machine operation, inspection and more interesting tasks. Thus tasks had a pecking order which not all students understood in objective terms.

Nevertheless, while the assembly tasks offered few intrinsic rewards most students were able to relate to each other in the work groups around which the tasks were designed. Thus one team assembled parts of a flash gun on a wheel and fed a welder. A sense of comaraderie was observed among those workers. Two welders were placed next to each other and were able to keep a conversation that passed the time. This speaks well of the planning and supervision function. Since evaluation was on an objective numerical basis, supervisors were free to provide help where needed rather than enforce work discipline continuously.

An additional task group worthy of special attention was that of silk screen operations. While this too was a repititious operation involving inking, feeding and inspection of printed cards, the physically smaller shop with a grandfatherly supportive supervisor provided an alternative work experience for the worker who wanted to learn the skills

taught or who had difficulty adjusting on a larger floor. Here too, some comaraderie was evident though machine noise and distance between most individual workers worked against a continuous conversation between workers. Here also the supervisor provided help as needed and more often performed shop chores of his own, at times not very different from those of the trainees.

For most of the tasks observed, little in the way of special skill seemed required. Most workers seemed capable of performing production standards in their discussions. All even understood the relation of his own task to the total task involved in producing the product. Variations in performance more often had to do with motivation than general or specific ability as discussions with several supervisors and workers confirmed.

Parallel to the formal production skills, however, were informal ones. These informal skills were not directly taught though they were enforced. They more commonly are referred to as work habits and were observed in this instance to be particularly:

A. Task persistence

B. Attendance

C. Punctuality

As noted above supervisors did not have to spend a great deal of time monitoring trainee persistence as the numbers did that for them. However, a fast worker could instead of exceeding his quota spend time differently and sometimes did. More often the barely adequate producer was barely adequate because of time spent doing other things. Most students, however, were observed to be unusually persistent. This was no doubt aided by planned breaks in the day, allowance for conver-

satien while on task and occasional permission to play a radio while working. With very few exceptions the nature of the task itself did not encourage persistence.

The issues of attendance and punctuality were somewhat different. An excellent numerical system of keeping track of lateness frequencies and absence ratios allowed for continuous monitoring. Since the program begins at 7 am, as could be expected this provided the greatest source of program/trainee conflict and will be dealt with further in the questionnaire analysis. It can be said here, however, that supervisors, the general supervisor and personnel staff all were involved in enforcing this policy from the initial orientation of trainees until their placement or discharge. Attendance is regarded as the major work habit in the program.

Though clearly a communication issue to be discussed further below, the all pervading duality of mission manifested itself here. While most supervisors saw themselves as industrial production supervisors on special assignment, the very nature of the program required that in fact they be teachers. Further, if the research from vocational education has any applicability to this situation, shop teachers (supervisors) do more day-to-day counseling than the paid counselors (Davidson & Johnston, 1976; Reubens, 1974). The insistence upon adherence to production schedules does not enhance the trainee aspect of the supervisor's role. The problem is one simply of role conflict. In fairness it must be stated that some supervisors resolved this conflict more effectively than others. The trainee view of supervision will be discussed in the questionnaire analysis. Here it can be suggested that there is need for role clarification among supervisors and between

management, supervision and trainees.

From a human factors perspective it could be argued that the starting time could be considered unrealistically early. However, that is in fact the time that Polaroid starts its own day shift. Given the traveling time for the trainees from their inner city residencies to the often times surburban prospective employers, this time discipline is indeed most valuable. In many production jobs the most important factor after actual production is worker reliability. This training, therefore, while somewhat stringent is seen as properly reflecting the reality demands of the work situations in which trainees are likely to be placed.

Nevertheless, because attendance and punctuality are crucial variables in worker reliability, some development of strategies to meet this requirement might be useful. Currently trainees are rewarded and punished for performance. At heart, however, trainee time management and life style issues may be remedied by counseling. Such counseling is in fact done presently on an as needed basis by personnel and general supervision. However, a more proactive and systematic approach could be assigned to an on-site counselor.

In summary it can be stated that product choice is made with economic considerations which could be enhanced by human factors considerations. The skills resultant from that initial choice of product tend to be repititious with little incentive for high productivity and little connection seen in the relationship between performance of simple tasks and training in complex tasks. The informal skills or work habits promoted are both crucial and given more than adequate attention by the responsible program persons. In the latter area a deliberate approach is suggested which could be a duty of an on-site counselor.

Clerical Vocational Training. The training offered in clerical skills was observed for the four month period January through April 1977. The teacher informed the evaluator that she had temporarily had the assignment the previous year as well. In that this area did not seem a central focus of the program, little time will be spent on it here. Nevertheless, the following skills were observed being taught:

A. Typing

B. Switchboard operation

Basic typing is indeed the crucial clerical skill and most often in demand. Some clerical trainees get additional office practice skills as well. The basis for a sound program exists in use of a selection instrument, typing equipment, and in-house clerical tasks that provide on-the-job training. Space for the classroom was poor by most standards but apparently the best that could be provided on a ad hoc basis. In speaking with the teacher an evident need of placement counseling was necessary for one student whose personal issues were interfering with placement potential. The frequency of such occurences among the full range of clerical trainees is not known. Nevertheless, placement counseling would seem appropriate and needed. More important, however, is a basic decision around whether or not the program plans to remain in that area. Since clerical trainees cannot be expected to produce in the same way as production trainees, there are economic considerations attendant upon that programmatic decision. The cost in human factors terms of an ad hoc program must be considered as well. The morale of the teacher who will be temporary and of trainees who are viewed as different must also be considered in a final decision.

In short it can be stated that trainees can be brought to a level of marginal marketable skill in a short four month time period, given selectivity on the part of the program. A basic "keep or drop" decision appears to be required at this time to prevent a continued ad hoc response on an annual basis.

Basic Educational Training. The education program at Inner City shall be discussed in terms of its content, its recipients and briefly evaluated in terms of observed strengths and weaknesses. While the program is described as basic, the label is somewhat misleading. Presecondary level training is given to achieve the traditional definition of functional literacy and numeracy: the eighth grade level of functioning. The training is also basic in that it is solely language, mathematics, and when sufficient numbers warrant, English as a Second Language. However, the program does provide pre-General Education Development training to more advanced level students of whom there are quite a number considering the otherwise disadvantaged nature of the trainee population. While pre-GED training is hardly advanced, it is simply noted here that it does represent training beyond the rudiments of basic literacy and does represent a step the program has taken in the direction of a broader-based development of individuals.

As to specific content, the program has what appears to be a strong reading and language usuage program that is tailor-made to students' needs. Students are tested in Phase I and assigned to one of four instructional levels - a move towards homogeneous grouping without the observable stigma associated with such an enterprise. Students at the most elementary level are taught phonics utilizing HIP Readers, a text especially designed for disadvantaged adults. At the succeeding levels

students are taught vocabulary, word recognition, grammar and finally in level IV given GED preparation.

Math is taught using a similar paradigm of four levels beginning with a basic level and working up to level IV, where students go beyond decimals and fractions and begin pre-algebra and numeric concepts. Students are initially assigned on the basis of testing and achievements.

Classes are held from 7 am to 9 am each morning. Students must punch into work, as classes for those assigned are in fact a part of the normal work day for which they are paid. Not all program trainees are students. Trainees with high school diplomas or who already have GEDs are admitted to class only on the bases of low test scores and available space. Trainees who later elect not to attend classes do not have to do so but may work in production instead. Also trainees who later elect to attend can be admitted. The classes therefore have a higher motivation level because of these two alternate mechanisms.

Classes were observed, students, teachers and the coordinator were all interviewed. Teachers were found to have adequate preparations and good levels of rapport with students. A wealth of teacher-made materials was available. There was much evidence of concern shown by teachers that the material have an adequate interest level. Malcolm X's autobiography was read alound in one class for example. There seemed to be great effort to meet students at individual needs levels in each class observed, though the observations were admittedly short. Math is an area of basic concern both in terms of its value as a survival skill (i.e., balancing the unmanageable checking account) and as a job skill. Since most workers are preparing for production positions, higher level positions necessitate higher levels of computational skills. These skills are learnable and a

plethora of math programs exist to teach them. The use of such programs in a learning resource center could be an invaluable tool for trainees to do their own learning on. Simply put, equipping such a center could be done with an investment of $10,000 for math and reading materials. Students who wish to use their breaks in that way, or who wish to remain a few minutes after work could make use of such materials. The materials could be self managing requiring little if any supervision in their use.

In short it can be said that given the average six month period trainees remain in the program, at best one could expect an orientation to adult education as a legitimate outcome of basic education classes. If follow-up could be instituted to see how many beginning students continue their preparations for GEDs or further education, longer range effects could be assessed. From a human factors prospective there is evidence that frustration at inability to move enough students to an observable socially significant achievement level such as the GED exists. Given that reality in terms of the various entry levels that exist, some sort of educational self-management system appears more appropriate as a reasonable goal. Further elaboration of what the particulars might be could well lie within the staff's own resources under some guided interactions.

A further observation within the scope of basic education is a programmatic one. A way should be found to serve all trainees who desire academic training not just those who do not have diplomas and low achievement scores. This would be further movement in the direction of broad-based development. Students with GEDs or diplomas need not end their educations. The fact that many employers subsidize education and that so many of the program's own staff are continuing their own educations speaks to the realization of benefits accruing from such an exercise. It would seem

that trainees could only benefit from exposure to education as adults. Such stimulation is likely, in a few cases at least, to recover strengths and rekindle ambitions long forgotten. A return to college or other specialized training is still a desirable program goal.

In summary it can be said that education at Inner City is basic with some advanced components. The strength of the program is individualized instruction in reading and math. Staff frustration has been observed, no doubt caused by the short duration of time trainees can be worked with. A training resource center, more systematic development program and working towards design of an educational self-management system have been suggested. Further observations will be reported in the questionnaire analysis below.

Transferability. The issue of training has been discussed in terms of various skills taught within different aspects of the program. To the extent that skills taught are transferable, Inner City will have proven itself viable as a training program. Certainly the informal production skills of attendance, punctuality and task persistence meet that requirement. Clearly also the basic education classes meet that requirement as well in an increasingly technological labor force. It is in the area of formal production training, however, where more than 2/3rds of trainee time is spent, that issues of transferability are clearest. Packaging, welding, calibration, inspection, silk screen work and office skills are all readily transferable to one degree or another. All of these combined, however, are less than half the jobs available. The single largest category of positions is that of assembler. This is also the least transferable skill. So again, the question remains unresolved in yet another guise - is Inner City a job or training program. It is still impossible for this evaluator to answer on the basis of this evidence in this section.

It clearly has qualities of both. Perhaps that shall be its strength.

Evaluation. Evaluation examined as a program element is found to be very much in evidence from the very highest policy making levels of the program to the ultimate judgement about individual trainee effectiveness. Evaluation can be seen as a formal, built-in structural evaluating mechanism and informal, representing communications lines between staff members.

Beginning at the program policy level all production is put on a schedule basis. Additionally, individual supervision and trainee productivity is measured relative to the achievement of projected production goals. The human factor effect of this evaluation at the staff level is of course the maintenance of the staff's own work discipline and personal drive. The atmosphere has a certain level of tension that must accompany such a system. An unfortunate outcome of the system, however, is that it does not reinforce any alien "trainer" predispositions which supervisors might have brought to such an assignment. Productivity and commitment to personal development of others can often be wedded, but seldom without deliberate efforts to bring about this happy union.

At the trainee level issues of time and attendance are dealt with quite objectively. The frequencies and ratios are indeed excellent feedback mechanisms which workers can all understand even if occasionally resist. Trainee responses will be reported in more detail in the questionnaire analysis below.

Movement through phases is usually done through personnel review boards where supervisory, production, personnel and management staff are all represented. The frequencies and ratios of all students under consideration are examined. A checkoff sheet was given the evaluator and

certain changes are suggested to objectify the system even more, introducing a numerical rating system based on a uniform 5-point Likert scale. However, a fuller narrative is also suggested which could require that the supervisor actually take the time to give evidence of knowledge of the trainee as a person rather than solely as a worker. The revised rating form is included in the appendix. Since most supervisors already have this personal knowledge it should be a small task to ask them to write more and would also give structural expression to a concern for the trainee as a person - again moving towards broad-based development.

Within the realm of informal evaluation, feedback is constantly given trainees by supervisors. There is sometimes encouragement and sometimes a transfer of tasks within the same shop is recommended. Informal evaluation is sometimes shared with another supervisor when a transfer between shops is desirable. All supervisors report outstanding evaluations - positive or negative - to the general supervisor who often is able to offer advice or interventions of some kind. When administrative action is required or when immediate placement is feasible the personnel person is brought into the picture. Clearly again these are situations which are exceptional circumstances. The average trainee gets only perfunctory evaluation. The need for ongoing counseling is evident here.

In summary it can be said that the program teaches skills that are transferable to some extent but also has non-transferable skills in fully half the specific work assignments. Evaluation on the other hand is a constant and pervasive quality of the program and it can be said to on balance more positively than negatively affect the program. A few suggestions for improvement were made. Training is seen on balance as a strength of the program, particularly in its informal skills training

around work habits.

Counseling

The second aspect of the Inner City mission paradoxically is dealt with only indirectly. This is recognized by the staff in interviews held with the personnel administrator and teachers.

The most immediately applicable counseling is career development. A life planning workshop has been run and career discussions have been held in classrooms. No pretense has been made, however, that these efforts constitute a systematic approach to adult counseling. Again the narrow-based option heretofore followed has not allowed for that. Student concerns in the area are dealt with in the questionnaire analysis.

Other types of counseling generally designated as personal does proceed on an informal basis usually in the form of "problems" referred to personnel and/or general supervision persons. While the efforts are well meant, neither feels that they can substitue for professional counselors. Without belaboring the point further, this evaluator will simply cite some data. Inner City's 1976 Human Resource Report in the appendix indicated that 211 trainees entered and left the program. Of that number, 76 or 36% were terminated or resigned. While some resignations were positive (i.e., offered a good job or school) there is some slippage which could possible be helped by effective counseling. The benefit would result in less attrition. It seems well understood, then, that counseling would be desirable for the program.

Placement

In the production oriented environment that is Inner City, placement has a high priority. The cost effectiveness system of evaluation and production scheduling includes placement as another production item that

must be produced on schedule. In this instance the pressure exerted by the system was not just for numbers but quality placements of graduates. Placement will therefore be examined from the program data relative to ratios. It will further be examined as to quality.

According to the report previously cited for 1976, 135 of 211 or 64% of trainees leaving the program were placed. This hit rate compares favorably with vocational high schools and very favorably with public adult training programs which tend to hit at around the 50% rate with quality not guaranteed (Ginzberg & Solow, 1974; Reubens, 1974). The majority of trainees were historically placed with Polaroid until 1974. In 1976 only 53% were. These results reflect the efforts of the personnel administrator and the general manager, the former particularly in being involved with establishing contractual links with outside blue chip employers. Trainees are aware of the formal skills requirements that go into placement decisions but in interviews with the evaluator seemed to know little about any other requirements for specific placement. Such personal factors as confidence, personableness and other less objective considerations must enter and communicating that information in a placement interview becomes problematical in the absence of a pre-existing counseling relationship. There is, therefore, especially among trainees who were longer in the program, much cynicism about the considerations that go into placements. More trainee feelings about placements will be discussed in the questionnaire analysis. Generally it can be said that the number of placements, regardless of whether all trainees know it or not, is indeed of a magnitude to be expected only for on-the-job training programs.

Quality of placement positions can be illustrated from a representative sampling of 1976 placements:

Clerk typist

Assemblers

Assembly operators

Inspectors

Solderers

This listing would have to include a number of welders to reflect anticipated and proven 1977 placements. The 1976 firms placed with include:

Banks

Insurance companies

General Motors

To update for 1977, General Dynamics and Digital Equipment Corp. would be added. Starting pay on jobs has ranged during the current year from $3.00 to over $6.00 hourly - enough to support a family and plan a future. It can thus be stated that Inner City has indeed lived up to its promise with both high quantity of placements and excellent quality. The program has been a resounding success on this aspect of its mission.

While the program has had resounding success in this area, there are of course areas which could be improved. Placement is currently the production outcome of a single personnel administrator. The administrative press is to meet the quota by finding jobs, then finding trainees. While again, this has had high success, it differs from a more systematic counseling approach to placement. It is in fact that difference that differentiates between career development counselors and job finders. In more service-oriented programs these functions are separated. While in all fairness to Inner City, it must be stated that the current personnel function of the program is understaffed by one, there is no indication that a truly counseling function is or even could be contemplated for

the second personnel staffer. So again there is need for counseling.

Quality placements are the number of individuals placed on new jobs of some substance. While current performance is admirable, follow-up does not currently exist. The reader is reminded for example that basic education more frequently does not reach a milestone point at Inner City. More often the possibility is held out and steps begun on the road to preparation for taking the GED. One of the paradoxical factors attendant upon securing a good paying job is that the relationship between education and financial reward gets quite obscured, and remains so until the worker has to compete for employment again as a member of an ever more educated labor force. Educational planning which could identify resources which could be followed-up on for continued personal development might stimulate continued growth on the part of graduates of Inner City. Follow-up mechanisms to encourage use of resources is now the current thinking in career education (Wirtz, 1974; Hoyt et. al., 1972).

Finally the area of personal growth could be generalized even further. If a truly generic life planning process were part of Inner City, individuals graduating would not just have a good sense of their economic selves. They would also have a better view of ways to actualize their social-psychological selves through better choice of personal leisure activities and willingness to examine new ways of pursuing life-enhancing experiences. For example given the price of theater tickets and the social snobbery that surrounds theater going, it is a safe bet that few trainees have had that experience. Yet a dance could cost twice as much. The program could whet trainees' appetites by organizing trips to the theater, to art exhibits, to dance performances, to ski trips and other means of enjoyment. This, therefore, represents a view of

placement which goes far beyond job finding and into broad-based personal development as previously described.

In summary the numbers indicate a better than 3/5th's placement rate for each trainee entering the program in what are indisputably quality placements. The jobs are at an appropriate level of skill and with good remuneration. Suggestions are made for follow-up activities in the way of personal development. This aspect of the program's mission is unequivocably met.

Communications

Communication at Inner City as in many organizational structures is complex. It entails communication among persons at the same level as well as those between different levels. Moreover, it entails functional lines of communications as well as structural ones.

The latter because they are more concrete can be examined first. The structural lines of communication are simply those formal systems built into program operations to insure communications between program members. Structural communications systems were observed to be the following:

A. Staff meetings

B. Personnel meetings

C. Review boards

D. Appeals boards

Staff meetings are self-explanatory and seemed to be devoted to reports of productivity and feedback from the planners and accountants relative to the amounts of projected performances that had been achieved. There were few surprises and no discomfort noted, leading the observer to believe that all of this data had been previously known and shared by the concerned parties. The role of the general manager was to push

for production but in a totally nonthreatening manner. Thus staff meetings represent management-staff interactions.

Personnel meetings may or may not include review boards. They are simply discussions about trainee productivity, recruitment, problem solving and placement. Relative to recruitment a slide show was screened and feedback elicited. Production staff was made aware of new placement possibilities for trainees and this seemed to have been generally motivating. All staff present seemed to feel perfectly free to take part in the process with no evidence of personal threat or need to attack a fellow staff member or management.

Review Boards were supposed to meet periodically for purposes of assessing student progress. In observing one meeting, the observer learned that there had been a timelapse of months between meetings (October to January) when in fact they should have been monthly. It is important to note that informal communication ensued. Clearly the leaving of one of the personnel people may have overloaded the remaining person and something had to give. Nevertheless, this is the tangible means by which students are rewarded by being moved from one phase to another and by being granted pay raises. Itthus has some importance from a morale point of view. The review board form has been discussed previously and the changed form is included in the appendix.

The evaluator was invited to sit in on a few Appeals Boards meetings. When a trainee is terminated and wished to seek a hearing, he is invited to an Appeals Board. The firing supervisor is present and acts as prosecutor. Usually present is the general supervisor and personnel person. The general manager chairs the meeting. The meeting is definitely adversarial, the staff member has made a charge. Nevertheless, the trainee

is allowed to rebut the evidence though the objective nature of the data leaves little room for pleas other than extenuating circumstances. The general manager appeared most cognizant of the training mission of the program. On occasions, a recommendation for termination is reduced to indefinite suspension or probation.

The terms of the probation or indefinite suspension are communicated orally. While clarity is checked at the meeting, the emotional pressure felt by trainees may in fact trigger a selective memory reaction in long term recall. It is recommended that written terms be added to the oral communications. Additionally, the absence of any persons other than staff at the Boards may add to trainee intimidation. Trainee representation on that Board might add credibility as well as enhance trainee self-government activities. The Appeals Board otherwise seems to serve its function well.

The four mechanisms seem to work well but operate on a monthly basis generally. Therefore it can present only a small part of the communication picture. A larger part can be seen from examining the informal functional networks. The assumption here is that communication always goes on; the question is whether or not it is positive.

If one examines the intrastaff network it becomes apparent that teachers and production supervisors see trainees differently and have little communication between each other. There are occasional requests from supervisors to teach content areas of immediate relevancy to the particular production. A meeting held at the request of the educational coordinator reportedly provided a freer and more frank interchange between these two staff groups. It would seem that at least twice yearly such meetings should be held.

Between levels of staff there is also constant communication. While Inner City is a wholly separate corporation, all employees are Polaroid employees. Moreover, not all employees are directly responsible to Inner City management. Accounting for example reports to Polaroid's accounting department as does education report to the parent corporation. While this leads to divided loyalty imposed by the system in these two staff groupings, a shared loyalty to the general manager is evident in private interviews with all staff members. This shared loyalty is no doubt enhanced by the fact that each staff member had been recruited by the general manager with the exception of the silk screen supervisor and general supervisor, both of whom predate the general manager in the program.

Another issue to be discussed, however, is the felt loyalty of staff members to Polaroid as distinguished from loyalty to the program. Clearly all staff members with the exception of the teachers were most loyal to the parent corporation. They had other assignments prior to coming to Inner City and planned better assignments upon leaving the program. The outcomes are dual. One outcome has been a feeling among staff of being exiled while in the program,with a certain restlessness to get back to the "main stream" of the parent corporation. While consequences of that attitude in relation to trainees have been hard to assess, there did seem to be a certain harshness not shared by the majority of the staff who had these feelings in lesser degrees. Another outcome has been a conscientious pursuit of excellence in recognition of the relationships between what was done at Inner City and future prospects in the parent corporation. On balance, on the basis of the staff interviews it can be concluded that loyalty to the parent corporation has had a positive effect except when it resulted in a negative program attitude.

One other communication observed among staff levels was a high morale expressed without individual exception. Freedom to do more than a narrowly defined task in a very differentiated corporate structure was one of the highest sources of staff satisfaction. Everyone from the general manager down felt the freedom to do a variety of things in a free enough atmosphere to allow for personal experimentation and growth. Thus a supervisor could make placement recommendations, a teacher could make personnel recommendations and an accountant could function as a comptroller very early in his career. The freedom of Inner City presented challenge and this was supported by the atmosphere fostered by the general manager among others.

With regard to staff/trainee communications there appeared to be the constant daily contact with supervisors and predictably less communication with senior or specialist staff. Thus, planners and accountants had minimal trainee contact. On the other hand personnel and general supervision had frequent troubleshooting kinds of relationships. When there was a need for mandatory overtime for example, a meeting with the general supervisor and manager was held. Communication did go on but it was not necessarily positive in that a number of trainees raised the issue in personal interviews. There was apparently little consensual validation of the need for mandatory overtime.

On the basis of the above it can be concluded that trainees feel somewhat distant from senior staff - that their concerns are not regarded as important. Perhaps one way of alleviating that issue would be the formation of a trainee council. This council could negotiate with management over crucial issues and also give workers some experience in having an input into policy deliberations. While such a stance may seem radical to Inner City, it is precisely what labor unions do and what smaller

employers are beginning to do in order to increase worker morale.

On balance it can be stated that role conflicts exist for supervisors particularly, as noted above. It can be said that intrastaff communications do not always operate positively. It could also be said that the formal structures are there, function well, and indeed need to be increased. Communications, therefore, at Inner City as in most organizations has some room for improvement but cannot be said to be totally negative.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

This section reports the results of analysis of a questionnaire distributed to students by the evaluator and some teachers as well as production supervisors. It is included in the Appendix. The questionnaire was designed to elicit feedback from students about their perceptions of Inner City generally, and the mission components specifically. The instrument was distributed to staff for their reactions prior to student distribution.

Forty students completed the questionnaire, 17 males and 23 females. This represents more than half the trainee population at this time (April, 1977). While not every student answered every question, only in instances when the response rate went below 30 were special notations made in accompanying tables. The tables and findings are presented by mission goal and introduced by background responses.

Trainee Backgrounds

Trainee backgrounds are dealt with in order to portray the normative life experiences of individuals entering the programs. These are presented by describing the demographics of the population, their immediate work and educational histories and finally their program entry behaviors.

Age. Ages of trainees are portrayed in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Ages of Trainees by Sex

	20 years or less	21-23	24-26	over 26	Total
Male	3	7	3	2	15
Female	7	8	2	4	21

Table 1 indicates at this writing that females had a median (middle fifty percent) age of about 21 years. They ranged in ages from 18-44 years. Males had a slightly higher median of about 23 years but a much narrower range of ages, 19-31 years. Further examination reveals 3/5ths of the females to be under age 24 years.

Family Status

Trainee family status is defined by marital status and presence of children portrayed in Tables 2 and 3 respectively.

Table 2 Marital Status by Sex in Percents

	Married	Single	Div/Sep	Total
Male	35	53	12	100
Female	9	87	4	100

Table 3 Presence of Children by Sex in Percents

	No	Yes	Total
Male	41	59	100
Female	52	48	100

Table 2 shows that the slightly younger female trainee population is much more likely to be single. While males are more likely than females to be married, the majority of neither group is likely to be presently married. Table 3 brings to light the interesting contrast in the female population where about half have children and over 4/5ths are single. Males also have children in excess of their proportions that are not single but to a smaller degree. It can be concluded, therefore, that while half the trainee population has children, the females are most likely to be unmarried.

Support Systems

Support systems consist here of living arrangement and source of support, displayed in Tables 4 and 5 respectively. In living arrangements "own family" is taken to mean the person having a separate household with their own children or nuclear family. It differs from living with parents or relatives largely in responsibility levels. In sources of support, "hustle" refers to the kinds of activities, legal and illegal, that unemployed individuals engage in to economically survive. The tables display the data.

Table 4 Living Arrangements by Sex in Percents

	Alone	Own Family	Parents/ Relatives	Total
Male	6	59	35	100
Female	39	39	22	100

Table 5 . Source of Support During Application to Inner City by Sex in Percents

	Full-time Work	Part-time Work	Parent	Welfare	Unemp. Ins.	Hustle	Total
Male	52	6	18	0	6	18	100
Female	47	14	10	5	0	24	100

Table 4 shows the slightly older male population to more frequently live with their own families than females who were as likely to be living alone or with their own families as their single status would lead the reader to expect. Interestingly the number of males living alone is very small. The family responsibilities of males become clear here as they reflect the general population's dependency on the male for support. This is again reflected in the older male population's greater likelihood to have been working full time at program entry. In fact the majority of all trainees seem to have been working full or part time. Thus while the population may be disadvantaged, they are not totally unacquainted with work.

Last Job Experience and Education

Months spent on the last job prior to Inner City and highest school grade completed are portrayed in Tables 6 and 7 respectively.

Table 6 Months on Last Job Prior to Inner City by Sex in Percents

	0-3 mos.	3-5 mos.	6-11 mos.	12 mos. +	Total
Male	19	37	19	25	100
Female	40	25	5	30	100

Table 7 Years of Education by Sex in Percents

	9th or less	10-11	HSD	More	Total
Male	12	29	53	6	100
Female	22	35	39	4	100

Table 6 shows that both males and females on average spent only five months on their last prior jobs. More than 1/4th are likely to have spent a year or more but the largest group of females - 40% - spent 3 months or less. Some aspects of disadvantaged status begin emerging, particularly for the older male population. They are likely to have worked but for only relatively short periods of time at each job. The jobs for both groups consisted of machine operation, janitors, clerical help, cooking and other jobs, some better some worse. It appears that most belonged to the secondary labor force characterized by low pay and high turnover with little employee rights (Ginzberg, 1970). Male education was at the high school graduate level at the median and 11th grade median for females. In a less competitive world high school graduation should assure entrance to employment security. However, 80% of the U.S. population now finishes high school and the press is for post-secondary training (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1975). So again the trainee population is disadvantaged economically.

Entry Behaviors

These behaviors are characterized by the period of time the program was known to trainees before they acted upon that knowledge and the time delay between application and acceptance. Tables 8 and 9 respectively portray these results.

Table 8 Months of Knowledge of Inner City Prior to Application by Sex in Percents

	0-1 ms.	2-3	4-6	More	Total
Male	41	18	18	23	100
Female	22	26	26	26	100

Table 9 Months From Application to Acceptance by Sex in Percents

	0-3 mos.	4-5	6-9	Over 9	Total
Male	24	18	29	29	100
Female	56	22	13	9	100

Table 8 shows males most frequently knowing about the program the same month they apply. Females seem as likely to know immediately before applying as more than six months before applying. As for acceptance portrayed in Table 9, more than half the females were accepted within three months of application while males do not reach that frequency until 6 months after application. There are some sample specific influences effecting these results as the program recruited women to fill affirmative action requirements of requesting employers. Thus the data reflect special program efforts rather than spontaneous trainee behaviors.

Summary

In summary it can be said that trainees are more likely to be in their early twenties, to be single, and as likely as not have children. They are likely to have been working prior to coming to Inner City for about 5 months. Males are likely to be high school graduates and females dropouts at the 11th grade. Trainees are likely to have known about Inner City for about 2-4 months prior to application.

Production-Vocational Training

This aspect of the training will relate responses having to do with the trainees reactions to tasks and to the supervisors. Since there were insufficient numbers for finer analysis, all trainees had to respond to all supervisors in general. It must therefore be stated that relating these findings to any individual supervisor's behavior would be most hazardous. The findings are presented as work environments, supervisory behaviors and a correlational analysis.

Work Environment

These are programmatic questions of a general nature and are presented here because questions were directed at the production aspect of the trainees' day. Table 10 portrays responses to inquiries about potential sources of discontent for trainees. Remaining on site means staying in the assigned production area and remaining on task refers to persistence at the assigned duties. Table 11 relates to the psychological outcomes of production.

Table 10 Requirements of Inner City Most Difficult to Meet by Sex in Percents

	Attendance	Punctuality	On Site	On Task	Total
Male	33	17	17	33	100
Female	70	10	10	10	100

N=16

Table 11 Task Satisfaction by Sex in Percents

	Boring	Interesting	Pass Time	Total
Male	0	36	64	100
Female	11	21	68	100

Table 10 reveals attendance as the major issue of concern for over 2/3rds of the females and for 1/3rd of the males. Remaining on task is a problem for another 1/3rd of the males. Punctuality does not seem a major problem though it is very much part of the work day both during the day as well as arriving for work at the day's beginning. Both groups find that they are able to pass the time while performing their duties in a proportion of about 2/3rds. Thus while the work is not interesting, trainees are prepared to do it with regularity though that regularity is costly to women who must prepare a child as well as themselves for a 7 am starting time.

Supervisor Behaviors

Supervisor behaviors are examined by general attitudes to all trainees and personal relationships with individual trainees. Tables 12 and 13 portray personal supervisory qualities which result in general attitudes.

Table 12 Supervisory Behavior Perceived by Sex in Percents

	Always	Sometimes	Never	Total
Listening				
Male	53	35	12	100
Female	65	35	0	100
Fairness				
Male	47	35	18	100
Female	70	30	0	100

Table 13 Perceived Supervisor Strictness by Sex in Percents

	Not Enough	Just Enough	Too Much	Total
Male	19	62	19	100
Female	18	64	18	100

Table 12 shows that supervisors are seen as both willing to listen and fair in the majority of cases, though males are not as strongly sure of their constant fairness. While the percentages of "never" responses look significant, the basis of those responses is a frequency of 1-2 individuals, some of whom have been in the program longer than is usually the case. Interesting, though both males and females overwhelmingly agree that supervisors are just strict enough in the production areas. This probably shows acknowledgement of the fact that if the training is to have value, the program must have work discipline.

Personal supervisory behaviors are shown in a listing of ways supervisors have been helpful in Table 14, feeling of personal relationships in Table 15 and quality of feedback to trainees in Table 16.

Table 14 Ways in Which Supervisors Have Been Helpful

Services	Frequencies
Teaching the Job	21
Monitoring Performance	14
Finding Different Tasks	11
Relating Tasks to Trainees	20

Table 15 Personal Relationships to Supervisors by Sex in Percents

	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Total
Understanding				
Male	33	33	33	100*
Female	58	42	0	100
Helpfulness				
Male	54	33	13	100
Female	78	22	0	100

* rounding error

Table 16 Nature of Supervisory Feedback by Sex in Percents

	Negative	Positive	Neither	Both	Total
Male	33	20	0	47	100
Female	19	24	9	48	100

Table 14 reveals that supervisors most frequently are helpful in teaching the job and relating the different tasks to the end product for [illegible]. [illegible] tion of supervision. Table 15 in examining personal relationships closer, portrays males as not feeling very understood though a majority of both groups feel supervisors are personally helpful, females more strongly than males. Finally in Table 16 we find just under 1/2 of both groups acknowledging that supervisors give both positive and negative feedback and insignificantly few claim to get no feedback.

Correlational Analysis

In order to see if there were associations between trainee age, work experience as measured by months on last job, education or presence of children and attitudes toward supervisors, correlations were run. Attitudes toward supervisors were the combined responses to questions relative to supervisors' listening, fairness, strictness, understanding and helpfulness. Table 17 portrays those results.

Table 17 Correlation of Attitudes Toward Supervisors and Selected Background Factors

	Age	Months Last Job	Years of Education	Presence of Children
Attitude Towards Supervisors	.06	-.06	.16	-.17

Table 17 shows no significant correlations among any of the variables shown. This means that there is no justification for expecting an older, experienced, educated trainee with children to have any better attitude toward supervisors than any other trainee. Of course these are trainees who do see their supervisors as having a special interest in being at Inner City rather than at Polaroid. Apparently that dedication is appreciated.

Summary

In summary it may be said that attendance is problemmatical for some females and that trainees manage to pass the time while doing their tasks. Supervisors are seen as willing to listen, to be fair and strict enough. They have been personally helpful in teaching job skills and explaining relations of jobs to total production. Females are more likely to feel understood by supervisors than males but both feel they're helpful. Supervisors are felt to give both negative and positive feedback. Finally attitudes toward supervisors are not explainable by trainees' age, experience, education or having children.

Basic Educational Training

Training in basic education will be discussed first in participation rates, then trainee self assessment of learning, followed by examination of teacher behaviors and finally correlational analysis of attitudes towards teachers. Caution is necessary in viewing these data. All trainees responded to all questions whether or not they were enrolled in

Participation Rates

Table 18 on the next page portrays the participation of trainees in basic education classes.

Table 18 Participation in Basic Education by Sex in Percents

	Attending	Not Attending	Total
Male	71	29	100
Female	65	35	100

Table 18 reveals that about 2/3rds of respondents of both sexes are enrolled. While this contrasts with prior male reports of high school graduation, the reader is cautioned that the figures reported are percentages and as the base number of respondents to specific questions shifts, particularly in the smaller male population, percentage shifts are larger. Teacher enrollment data are probably the best source for this information.

Students as Learners

This section examines the way in which trainees assess themselves as learners. Table 19 and 20 examine school subjects trainees felt more need of help in, and of subjects they felt actual growth in.

Table 19 Subject Most Help Needed in by Sex in Percents

	Reading	Math	Other	More than one	Total
Male	39	39	7	15	100
Female	10	50	5	35	100

Table 20 Subject Most Growth Felt in by Sex in Percents

	Reading	Math	Both	Total
Male	53	27	20	100
Female	23	71	6	100

Table 19 shows a definite clustering of female need in math, whereas male responses are divided equally between reading and math. As for personal growth, females feel more growth in their area of need, math. Males on the other hand have a definite clustering in reading that exceeded the stated need. From this it can be concluded that the female need is more frequently math and that results are likely to be felt. With more caution it could be stated that growth in reading for males will be felt though they may not be so likely to admit it as a need perhaps due in part to social desirability factors.

Another view of student self-assessments of ability is readiness to take the GED and a comparison of learning rate to classmates portrayed in Tables 21 and 22 respectively.

Table 21 Estimated Months Before Ready For GED by Sex in Percents

	Now	1-2 mos.	3-6	More than 6 mos.	Never	Total
Male	11	33	33	11	12	100
Female	22	48	0	0	30	100

Table 22 Learning Rate Compared to Classmates by Sex in Percents

	Faster	Same	Slower	Total
Male	15	77	8	100
Female	17	78	5	100

Table 21 shows that 2/3rds of females feel that they will be able to take the GED in two months. This would also be close to the placement time for many so that encouragement to take it prior to placement is useful, objective readiness measures permitting. Males feel that more time is needed. Interestingly 3/4ths of both groups feel their learning rates

are on par with the rest of the class. This is strong support for the

the GED at around their projected placement time, necessitating making

ing on par with their classmates relative to learning rates.

Teachers

Questions about teacher behaviors were approached from the viewpoint frequency of student understanding and freedom to ask questions reported below in Table 23. Table 24 lists specific ways in which students reported teachers helpful.

Table 23 Ability to Understand Classes and Freedom to Ask Teachers Questions by Sex in Percents

Variables	Always	Sometimes	Seldom	Total
Understanding				
Male	62	38	0	100
Female	63	37	0	100
Questions				
Male	77	15	8	100
Female	67	22	11	100

Table 24 Numbers of Ways in Which Teachers Have Been Helpful and Most Helpful

	Helpful	Most Helpful
Reading & Math	23	19
Home Problems	2	2
Job Problems	9	14
Planning Time Use	5	5
Planning Future Jobs	11	21
Planning Future Education	14	19

Table 23 shows that about 3/5ths of all students always felt able to understand their classes. In the area of freedom to ask questions there was a greater variety of responses with 3/4ths of males and 2/3rds of females always feeling freedom. However there were isolated instances of negative response for both males and females. Table 24 reveals teachers being helpful in reading and math and planning for future education. They were also most helpful in the same areas with the addition of planning future jobs. This speaks to some success in the life planning efforts of teachers and personnel staff person who had a program of guest speakers on different career possibilities.

Correlational Analysis

The responses in Table 23 were combined to form attitude toward teachers. These were then correlated with age, work experience as measured by months on last job, education and presence of children. Table 25 portrays the result of this analysis.

Table 25 Correlations of Attitude Toward Teachers and Selected Background Factors

	Age	Months on Last Job	Years of Education	Presence of Children
Attitude Toward Teacher	-.32*	-.19	-.53**	-.11

* $P \leq .05$ ** $P \leq .01$

Age and education significantly and negatively correlated with attitudes toward teachers. This means that older trainees and those with more education were least likely to view teachers positively. While these results are strong they may simply indicate that those who used it least thought less of the service available. Clearly there is need here for more definitive and rigorous study.

Summary

In conclusion it can simply be said that a majority of respondents indicated class understanding and freedom to ask questions. Teachers were predictably helpful in education and educational planning but also in job planning for the future as well. Negative correlates of attitude toward teachers were found to be age and education.

Counseling

Ways in which counselors could be useful were examined in Table 26 and the frequency and kind of contacts desired were examined in Table 27.

Table 26 Frequencies of Ways in Which a Counselor Could Help

Services	Frequencies
Educational Plans	16
Work Plans	19
Personal Problems	7
Resource Referrals	14

Table 27 Preferred Counselor Contacts by Sex in Percents

	Weekly Class	Indiv. Weekly	As Needed	Do Not Want	Total
Male	46	46	8	0	100
Female	6	44	22	28	100

Table 26 shows counselors were desired for work and educational planning. Interestingly very few wanted a counselor for help with personal problems. The most frequent mode of interaction desired is weekly individual contact though males would equally welcome weekly classes. There seems to be good student support for a counselor on the basis of these findings.

Placement

Placements will be reported as salary anticipation, location considerations and work environmental preferences. These responses are thought to provide information helpful to the personnel and prospective counseling staff.

Anticipated Salaries

The expected earnings are portrayed on the next page in Table 28.

Table 28 Anticipated Intry Salaries by Sex in Percents

	$100-125	$125-150	$150-175	$175-200	Total
Male	6	25	25	44	100
Female	4	48	22	26	100

Table 28 reveals marked sex differences in salary expectations. Median male salary expected is about $175 and females about $150. This may be consistent with different ages and personal responsibilities, but may also reflect trainee perception of sex discrimination in the marketplace. It can also be reported that these anticipations are at or below the level of salaries paid in actual placements.

Work Locations

Table 29 below shows both preferred work locations and acceptable ones.

Table 29 Desirability of Work Locations by Preferences and Acceptances

	Boston	Greater Boston	Mass.	New England	Out of New England	Total
Prefer						
Male	37	23	12	23	5	100
Female	52	22	26	0	0	100
Accept						
Male	29	12	18	23	18	100
Female	40	30	26	4	0	100

While there is a preference for both groups to work within the Greater Boston area, males are more will ng to travel further distances to new jobs. Given the responsibilities the female trainees have for

children, reluctance to travel beyond Greater Boston is understood. These findings are consistent with the actual locations of present placements.

Work Environments

Tables 30 and 31 examine people environments and amount of change desired by trainees.

Table 30 Preferred Work Environment Relative to People by Sex in Percents

	Alone	Group	1-2 People	Total
Male	20	60	20	100
Female	47	24	29	100

Table 31 Amount of Preferred Change in Tasks by Sex in Percents

	Constant Change	Little Change	Moderate Change	Total
Male	63	31	6	100
Female	36	36	28	100

Table 30 reveals more frequent willingness on the part of males to work in groups. Thus isolated tasks would not be congenial to some male temperaments. Females more frequently desire working alone though most

[illegible]

constantly desired by over 3/5ths of males as contrasted with no specific preferences females indicated. Rotation of tasks or multiple tasks appears more necessary for male workers.

Summary

The placement data seem to show anticipated salaries of between $150-$175, not very different from the salaries paid in present placements. Males are more willing to travel but require working with groups and constant change. Females are less willing to travel and more willing to work alone. These placement factors can be taken into consideration in designing a career development program.

Trainee Gains and Recommendations

This section reports the findings from the open-ended questions provided trainees on the questionnaire. These questions were to give trainees an unstructured choice of responses to report what they derived from the program and what recommendations they would make for changing the program. The most frequent response to this opportunity was no response to either question in 18 of the 40 questionnaires returned. This 45% no response rate may reflect some trainee cynicism about whether or not they would be listened to. This attitude was expressed in some interviews. For others it may simply have been a matter of time or unwillingness to express themselves in writing for reasons of trust or shame about skill level. Nevertheless, recognizing hazards in overgeneralizing from the data, Tables 32 and 33 portray trainee reported gains and recommendations, respectively.

Table 32 Trainee Reported Gains From Program

Gains	Frequencies
Employment Opportunity/Understanding	10
Educational Opportunity	4
Punctuality Attendance	3
Self-understanding	1

Table 33 Trainee Recommended Program Changes

Changes	Frequencies
General Reduction of Strictness	5
Greater Respect for Trainees	3
Voluntary Overtime	3
Increased Pay	2
Janitorial Help	1
Increased Strictness	1
Promotional Opportunities to Start	1
Constant Supervision	1
Open Opportunity to Attend Classes	1

Table 32 above shows trainees to have most frequently experienced employment opportunity as a gain from the program. Responses included here varied from pay to opportunity to learn how production enterprises work. Educational opportunities were a distant second with mentioning of learning math as a frequent specific response. Changes recommended in Table 33 have to do modally with a general loosening of the program, followed by increased respect for the adult status of trainees. These responses are somewhat contradictory in that during orientation in a group interview, many of the very persons now recommending change indicated positive feelings about a training program run by minorities that was tightly run. Apparently this tightness is better appreciated as a general principle than as a specific, personal requirement.

This is not to disregard or invalidate trainee demands for respect. The nonresponses in part speak to the same issue. This is clearly an issue worthy of further staff/trainee exploration in some guided interactions.

SUMMARY

It can be stated that the mission of the program is met with more success than failure in the human factors realm. Training in the production area is strong and transferable in the informal work habits training and the efforts of supervisors are well thought of by trainees in this regard. The major production task, however, is least transferable and also not intrinsically rewarding to trainees. Basic education training is felt to be effective in reading and math, job and educational planning is perceived by students as being actively pursued by teachers. GED preparation, however, appears to need both testing while in the program and follow-up educational planning for when trainees leave Inner City.

Counseling as a direct professional function does not exist. There is career development pursued by some teachers and the personnel administrator. There is also troubleshooting by the general supervisor and personnel administrator. Neither, however, claims professional counseling competence. Students feel the need for weekly individual and/or class contact with a counselor.

Placement was found to be the program's strength in terms of numbers and quality of placements. Student salary expectations were in line with or below actual placement figures. Willingness to travel, need for change and desire for companionship while working appear to be characteristic male responses, while females more often wanted geographically closer assignments, had less need for change and were more willing to work alone.

In terms of the mission of the program to provide training, counseling and placement it can be said that success was most unequivocable in placement followed by training and counseling. It was shown additionally that while evaluation was a strength of the program, communication had some

problems.

Final analysis suggest that the program has only hesitantly moved in the direction of broad-based development of trainees. This is not to say that the program is not competitive with its peers in this area. It is simply pointed out as a direction in which it can grow while saving its real strength in placement and fidelity of program content to actual work content. Recommendations will follow.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are made as a result of observations, discussions, and analysis of questionnaire responses. The evaluator wishes to credit the fine suggestions and general openness encountered in seeking responses to questions raised. The spirit in which these recommendations are made is simply that of making a good program better. It is my aim to suggest a way in which Inner City could move from narrow-based job training to broad-based career development for trainees.

1. In product selection it is recommended that human factors considerations enter the necessary calculus for feasibility. These factors specifically are interest level and teachability. Representatives of a trainee council could take part in the process.

2. The role of supervisors as trainers and production staff should be clarified. Workshops on human relations especially in the motivation attribution area is suggested. This is to ease the relationship particularly with male students. Involvement of management would also be required to give credibility to a system reward for good training activities.

3. Related to the role of supervisors as trainers is a suggested revised Trainee Performance Review with an additional page added requiring a narrative about the trainees usual performance, potential and areas needing further development.

4. Education at Inner City can be enhanced by the development of an educational self-management system that would teach trainees to either become their own teachers or learn to find the best teachers for their individual needs. Discussion within this team facilitated by a leader could have outcomes that would delineate such a program.

5. A Learning Resource Center could also enhance the educational function of the program. This center could have reading and math programs utilizing some of the educational hardware such as the slide and tape systems commercially available.

6. Trainees themselves could be given greater self-government training with the appropriate responsibility for consequences that this entails. A trainee council could have representation in product selection, personnel selection and Appeals Board Hearings. A counselor could proctor these activities.

7. There is unanimous agreement that a professional counselor is needed. Such a person could coordinate the general development of students, select appropriate tests, find community resources for follow-up and in short take many of the supportive duties now burdening the general supervisor and personnel person.

8. The area of Career Development, including placement counseling, needs development on an immediate basis. This is in fact the crux of the program and to leave it a decentralized concern is counter-productive. This could be the full task of a half-time counselor.

9. Career development could be supplemented by fuller personal development. This would entail exposing students to experiences that could broaden their own lives. Examples would be visits to small claims court, speakers from health and community advocacy groups and exposure to theater and other leisure activities not frequently enjoyed by trainees.

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